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198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.[4]

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[539] During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

> The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
> Is the home of White Painted Woman,
> Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
> For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
> Killer of Enemies has made it so.

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574 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hanging from the east pole is wound around the others, and the framework is secure. Now the women come from the community kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an
[788
823] east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of
[261] plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwelling, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it; it is his command."

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[533] After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished. The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs. The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers. The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.[5]

[4] While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[184] [5] The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others—twelve in all—for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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881 868 702 721 784 [513] [261] [262] sleep before the others would show indolence and would cause all the members of the party to be drowsy. The novice is cautioned against eating heartily lest he become gluttonous, and he is forbidden to eat choice parts of the meat or anything from the inside of the animal. When captured stock is killed on the return journey, the tough neck part is set aside for him. Also the ban against anything from the inside of an animal is then relaxed, and novices may be fed lung so that the stock will not become exhausted before the party reaches home.

881 868 702 721 Although his conduct is so important for the success of the expedition, the novice is obliged to gain his practical experience in a subordinate capacity:

> They take the novices four times for the rough work but won't let them fight. It is to toughen them, they say.
>
> The novices have to get the water and wood and do the heavy work around the camp when the men stop for the night. The men order them around pretty much. They must get up early in the morning and build the fire and care for the horses if there are any along. They are told, "Go over there and get those horses," and they have to go pretty fast. They have to do the cooking and make beds for the men. Sometimes they carry provisions for the men too. The men make these boys stay up on guard. They are the only ones who do guard duty.

881 868 702 721 192 The words which the boy learns and which he is instructed to use during his first four raiding journeys constitute a vocabulary of circumlocutory elements which replace ordinary forms of speech: "They had ceremonial words. Just the novice used them and only while he was out on the raid. The old men taught them these words and said, 'This is the novice's talk.'" In the raid or war vocabulary the term for heart becomes "that by means of which I live"; the customary word for pollen is replaced by a form which can be translated "that which is becoming life"; the owl is referred to as "he who wanders about at night," etc. Approximately eighty forms belonging to this special vocabulary have been collected. It is probable that the vocabulary was never a great deal more extensive, for the novice continues to designate most objects in the usual manner.[15]

[15] For a full analysis of the vocabulary see Opler and Hoijer, "The Raid and War-Path Language of the Chiricahua Apache," *American Anthropologist*, October–December, 1940.

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MAINTENANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

HUNTING

224 462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony 224 precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

262 1784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt. [252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep [302] this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint], can be used at this time.

224 261 785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

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Another thing about the hunt according to the old Chiricahua ways: The older men would always give this advice to the younger. "Don't eat before you go out on the hunt," they would say. "Even though you have plenty in camp, don't eat in the morning before you go out. Go out and hunt with an empty stomach. Then Yusn will pity you. Perhaps you will not see anything to shoot though it is late in the day. You'll be empty, hungry, an object of pity. But if you go out with a full stomach, you'll hunt all day and won't get anything. As soon as you make your kill and come back with it, you can eat all you want." 224 261. 785

The crow is associated with the hunt. A tale relates how animals were kept hidden by the crows until Killer of Enemies, with the help of Coyote, freed them during the absence of their keepers. The crows returned just in time to see their animals escape, and in their anger called the names of the waste products which form their usual fare. "So the human beings get all the best part of the meat, and the crows get what is left." On the basis of this story, the appearance of a crow just before the hunt is accepted as a favorable omen: 224 825 773 224 825 [787]

Well, suppose I am planning to go out hunting tomorrow. Crow might be very happy, flying around my camp. Then I might say, "Well, Crow, I'm going out hunting tomorrow and if I kill a deer you'll get the entrails, so help me." The crow must be connected in some way with hunting, but I've never heard how. But that's the way of it.

The attitude of the hunter should be one of reverence and generosity: 224 577

If I am going hunting with you, before we start out you might tell me, "If I kill two deer for you, I'm going to kill a good fat one and it will be mine." You must not show your selfishness in any way. If you say anything like this and walk all day and get no deer, you know what is the cause of it. You brought it on yourself. And even if you have killed several deer and you say something like this, you'll have bad luck later on. It'll make it bad for you. [777]

The attitude against optimism is emphasized particularly in one of the rules of the hunt.[1] "The Chiricahua don't allow baskets around the hunt. To bring them means that you are overconfident that they are going to be filled up. It spoils your luck." 224 [285] [777]

In late fall, when the deer are fatter and the hides better, [115]

[1] One elderly informant, an Eastern Chiricahua, claimed to know nothing of this rule.

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224 hunting activities are intensified, but this industry continues through the year whenever need commands and weather permits. "The Chiricahua killed any kind of deer—bucks or does, blacktail or whitetail, any time of year." Ordinarily, the hunter leaves for the chase alone or with one or two companions. Sometimes as many as ten men will travel together to a site where the game is known to be abundant, but then each goes his own way. The individual character of the hunt is evident from the following description:

> In the evening, before going to bed, I think about where I am going to hunt. So in the morning I wake up at dawn and rise eager to be off. I may prepare myself something to eat, yucca fruit or mescal or perhaps some meat, fresh or dried, and eat it. I don't eat much, for my mind is on hunting; if I don't eat before going, it doesn't matter, for, when I make my kill, I eat. . . . . I leave alone invariably. Some of the men prefer to hunt in pairs, especially if they go on horseback, but I wait for nobody and go early, alone, because the deer are not wise in the morning.
>
> If I have the luck to kill a deer close to camp, I carry it back home and butcher it and skin it myself at home. The neighbors come around, and I give them parts of the meat. If I kill a deer far away, I butcher the animal out there, skin it, wrap the meat tightly in the skin to keep the crows from getting at it, and hang it on a tree so that the animals can't get it. Then I go home and return with my horse and fetch the meat. I return to camp then with the meat, and everybody is proud of me, and all are happy. I give meat to all who come around; among these are women without husbands, who are very eager for meat.
>
> If I am unsuccessful on the hunt, I keep going as late as possible, until dark, and manage to get home by dark. If several men hunt together, they might plan to stay out all night; but, if hunters don't plan it, they always get home by dark so that nobody worries. After coming home in the evening when I have been unsuccessful, there may be nothing to eat, but I have to stick it out. That's pretty hard, but I'm man enough to stand it until morning. Though I am unsuccessful, no one makes fun of me.
>
> [261] Sometimes there was no food, and we suffered much; in the old days the Indians could stand hunger, and they would tie a cord around their waists pretty tight.[3] If I have no luck hunting, I would go off to hunt like this every day until I kill something; but, if I have good luck, I can lay off for two or three days. I enjoy hunting, but when I have meat I may or may not feel like going hunting.

[411] [177] Most of the deer secured are killed with the bow and arrow. (This refers to the time before the introduction of firearms, of course.)

[3] It is believed that this reduces the discomfort of hunger.

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THE STORAGE OF FOOD AND SURPLUS POSSESSIONS

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Only a limited amount of preserved food can be carried in parfleches and sacks. The rest must be cached. "In those days we had no place to store things when the women had dried a great deal of yucca fruit, mescal, and berries. So we took this food to a hole in the rocks, to a little cave."

These caches are in rocky caves. I've never known them to make one in the ground. This is their secret supply. They can roam around away from this place and come back toward it when they are hungry. Then they get out just so much. They often have valuables in there—extra baskets and other things. An individual household might have its own cache, or several camps of related people might put their goods in together.

This is the way it is fixed on the inside. First a layer of rocks is put down. Then a great deal of oak brush is laid on the rocks. The parfleches are laid on this. Inside each parfleche are layers of food, layers of mescal or yucca fruit, each layer separated from the others by grass. Sticks are placed between the parfleches. The entrance is closed up with rocks and then plastered with mud so the room is sealed and airtight. Then they fix the place over with grass and dirt. You can hardly tell it from the solid mountainside. Food will keep it there for a year or so.

Perhaps they are camping a long way from that cache and they run low on food. They can send a man after some of the provisions then. He closes up the entrance again just as though nobody had ever been there.

261 • [431] [596] [252] [251]

Food is not considered an individual or personal possession. The successful hunter sends his wife to her parents with the game he has procured, or a large share of it. Most often the women of the extended family prepare the food from combined stores and hide any surplus in one cave cache.

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The disposition of the stored food after the death of the woman who was responsible, in whole or in part, for gathering and preparing it, is a clue to the concept of joint ownership. One of the most solemnly respected death customs is the destruction of all objects which belonged to the deceased or were intimately associated with him. But:

If a woman has some food stored up like that and she dies before she uses it, many times it is used afterward. It is not considered her personal property.

The cached food belongs to the relatives as well as to the one who puts it away, but only to the family and the relatives of the woman. If the family is

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dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

AGRICULTURE

No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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in the mountains and ripen from July to September, were eaten fresh or might be dried and eaten like raisins.

Fruits of the one-seeded juniper *(Juniperus monosperma)* were commonly roasted in a pan over the open fire, a little water added, and when the whole became thick and white it was used as a gravy. The larger fruits of *J. pachyphloea* were eaten fresh when they ripened in July, at which time they were rather sweet. They might be roasted on heated stones and used either whole or ground. One informant reported that the "berries" are boiled and made into jellies or preserves, either in July or during the winter.

The white evening primrose *(Anogra albicaulis)*, as well as one or two other species of this genus, has podlike fruits that were occasionally chewed as a delicacy without preparation; the seeds might be ground and made into a sort of gravy or boiled in soups. The white seeds of the anglepod *(Vincetoxicum productum)*, which ripen and open in September, as well as the pods of *Maurandia wislizeni*, were eaten fresh or after being boiled. Children occasionally gathered pods of the evening primrose, *Galpinsia lavandulaefolia*, cooked, and ate them, but they were not an important article of food. The hard fruits of *Jamesia americana*, which also ripened in September, contained large seeds and were occasionally eaten fresh. Children commonly ate fresh ripe ground-cherries *(Physalis neomexicana)* as a delicacy. The Chiricahua Apache say that the seeds of the unicorn plant (probably *Martynia louisiana*) were eaten by the boys when these Indians were prisoners of war in Oklahoma.

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Several plants were utilied as chewing gum, the most common being the milkweed *(Asclepias speciosa)*. The "milk" was squezeed from the leaves and stems on a heavy black clay and the mixture chewed like ordinary gum. The resinous secretion from the trunk of the piñon pine *(Pinus edulis)* was also chewed, as well as the buds of the valley cottonwood *(Populus wislizeni)*.

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In this connection it may be noted that the Apache frequently made jelly from fruits such as algerita berries